BEIRUT ARAB UNIVERSITY

STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS

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PREFACE

More than one hundred years ago Matthew Arnold wrote about the function of criticism, "...to have the sense of creative activity is the great happiness and the great proof of being alive, and it is not denied to criticism to have it; but then criticism must be sincere, simple, flexible, ardent, ever widening its knowledge."[1] *The statement is still valid, and Linguistics can contribute much to the widening of the knowledge of the critic who is concerned with the study of literary style. It provides him with more observational and objective techniques than the hitherto adopted criteria which are often based on 'impressions', 'intuition' or 'opinions'. On the other hand, it is not sufficient, from the standpoint of criticism, to study only the linguistic features of a given style. There are other considerations which distinguish one writer from another, e.g. his ideas, images and aesthetic outlook. The first essay in this collection is an attempt towards the establishment of a (constant) relationship between the linguistic features prominent in the literary style of a given writer and his philosophy. This is done in terms of the lexical*

1 Arnold, M., 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time', in *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism*, first series, Everyman's Library, London, 1966, p. 34.

features correlated with certain themes in the poetry of the leading Iraqi poet, Badr Shakir El-Sayyab (1926–1964).

The second paper is a proposal of how the grammar of Classical Arabic should be revised in order to be brought in line with the findings and advances of contemporary Linguistics. The traditional approach of Arabic grammar has proved inadequate in teaching the present generations how to write and speak correct Arabic. Modern techniques and methods are worth trying in the re-writing of this grammar, especially those definitions of categories and structures which were based on conceptual, logical or semantic grounds. Samples of these definitions are discussed, and suggestions as to how they should be redefined in descriptive terms are made.

The third study deals with Sociolinguistics, a field of research the importance of which is rapidly increasing. This study throws light on some of the domains in which language and socio-cultural values and attitudes meet, such as speech functions, situational contexts, bilingualism, standard languages and dialects, and terms of reference and address. Typical examples are drawn from the present linguistic situation in our Egyptian society.

Beirut, 1975 ALI EZZAT

READING CONVENTIONS FOR THE SYMBOLS USED IN THE TRANSCRIPTION OF ARABIC FORMS [1]

Consonants

b	voiced bilabial plosive
d	voiced denti-alveolar plosive, non-emphatic
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative
g	voiced velar plosive
h	glottal fricative
ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
k	voiceless velar plosive
l	voiced denti-alveolar lateral
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced denti-alveolar nasal
q	voiceless uvular plosive
r	voiced alveolar flap
rr	voiced alveolar trill
s	voiceless denti-alveolar sulcal fricative, non-emphatic
ʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
t	voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, non-emphatic
w	labio-velar semi-vowel
x	voiceless uvular fricative
y	voiced palatal semi-vowel
z	voiced denti-alveolar sulcal fricative
ʔ	glottal plosive
ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
ɣ	voiced uvular fricative
j	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
θ	voiceless dental fricative
ð	voiced dental fricative, non-emphatic

1) This reading transcription is mainly based on my pronunciation of Arabic.

Emphatic Consonants

ḍ, ṣ, ṭ, ẓ, Z are 'emphatic' consonants corresponding to 'non-emphatic' d, s, t, ð, z respectively. The 'emphatics' are distinguished from the 'non-emphatics' by the following features :

1. the tongue is laterally expanded and its front part is low, whereas in the articulation of the 'non-emphatics' the tongue is laterally contracted and its front part is rather high in the mouth, i.e. raised towards the hard pala e.

2. relatively greater muscular tension in the tongue as compared with laxness of articulation associated with the 'non-emphatics'.

3. neutral or slightly rounded and protruded lip-position in contrast with the spread position in 'non-emphatic' articulation.

Vowels

i	half-close to close front spread vowel, close when long or final
u	half-close back to central rounded vowel, close rounded when long or final
e	mid to half-close front spread vowel, short and long
o	mid to half-close back rounded vowel, short and long

a	front open vowel, short and long
ɑ	back open vowel, usually associated with the 'emphatic' consonants, the trill consonant 'r' and the voiceless uvular plosive 'q', short and long

Long vowels are indicated by (:)

Geminated consonants are pronounced longer and are more tensely articulated than their single counterparts. Geminated consonants are indicated by doubling the consonant-letter.

Elisions at word-junctions are marked by (-), but the hyphen does not necessarily mark the place at which the elided portion occurs in corresponding contexts of non-elision.

I. LANGUAGE AND IMPLICATION
IN THE
POETRY OF BADR SHAKIR EL-SAYYAB: A LEXICAL STATEMENT



I. LANGUAGE AND IMPLICATION IN THE POETRY OF BADR SHAKIR EL-SAYYAB : A LEXICAL STATEMENT

> " Let us be modest and admit that we are all still in the stage of experimentation; at times we succeed, and many a time we fail." [1]
>
> BADR SHAKIR EL-SAYYAB

In ' Modes of Meaning ' J. R. Firth maintains that the statement of a writer's philosophy would be almost impossible without a previous analysis of his language. [2] The present paper is an attempt to interpret the poetry of the leading Iraqi poet Badr Shakir El-Sayyab (1926 - 1964) through the analysis of the linguistic features prominent in his poetic style. Every poet deals with his themes from his point of view, and there are distinctive stylistic devices correlated with these themes. Sometimes, a steady relationship can be established between certain stylistic devices and a given theme, in the sense that the

1) Quoted from Aloush, N., Introduction to El-Sayyab's *Poetical Works,* Dar El-Awda, Beirut, 1971, pp. zzz ; my translation.

2) Firth, J.R., 'Modes of Meaning', in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951,* Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p. 202.

poet may use certain lexical, grammatical or phonological features in the expression of a given theme as we shall see in the treatment of the theme of 'time' in El-Sayyab's poetry.

But it is not always possible to establish this relationship between a writer's language and each of his themes. All that can be said is that he has 'favourite' stylistic patterns common in his poetry. These stylistic patterns are to be investigated, and generalized statements may be reached. What we must insist upon in our literary valuation is not to impose any external 'law' on the work of art. Every work of art has its own laws which must be deduced from within, i.e. from the inside of the work. Neither should we approach a work of art with preconceived ideas about the writer's style. Our task, whether as stylisticians or as critics, is to investigate and describe the facts observable in the work under consideration and to validate our conclusions by producing evidences from the work itself. What we need first is an adequate technique within a statable linguistic framework, and then relationships between 'form' and 'theme', if any, are to be subsequently examined and established. A postulated technique is the one I have employed in the analysis of the poetry of the Egyptian poet Salah Abd-El-Sabour.[1] According to this technique three levels of analysis are suggested :

1) See my article 'Linguistics and the Interpretation of Literature', in *Essays on Language and Literature*, Beirut Arab University Publications, Beirut, 1972, pp. 3 - 40.

1. Lexical which includes the study of lexical items, collocations and lexical sets. 2. Grammatical which comprises the study of distinctive syntactic structures common in a writer's style. 3. Phonological which consists of the analysis of such phonological devices as the frequent occurrence of certain consonants or vowels, the use of certain types of syllables (long or short), the relation of rhythm to the selection of given prosodic features like stress and length, the distribution of alliteration and assonance, and so on.[1] In the present study, however, emphasis is laid on the lexical aspect, i.e. the analysis of the lexical characteristic features of El-Sayyab's poetry.

Three collections of El-Sayyab's poems have been singled out for this study. The first is ʔazha:run ða:bila (Fading Flowers) published in 1947; the second is ʔasa:ṭi:r (Legends) published in 1950 and contains poems which were written in 1947 and 1948[2]; the third collection contains some of his most well-known political and revolutionary poems like qɑ:riʔu-ddamm (The Blood Reader), ʔunʃu:datu-lmɑṭɑr (The Ode to Rain), madi:natun bila: mɑṭɑr (A Town without Rain) and risa:latun min mɑqbɑrɑ (A Message from a Grave), as well

1) For more details, see 1. Firth, J. R., 'Modes of Meaning', op. cit., pp. 196-203. 2. Crystal, D. and Davy, D., *Investigating English Style*, Longmans, London, 1969, Chapters 2 and 3. 3. Ezzat, A., 'Linguistics and the Interpretation of Literature', op. cit., pp. 7-16.

2) An anthology of these two collections was later published under the title ʔazha:run wa ʔasa:ṭi:r (Flowers and Legends). See *The Poetical Works of El-Sayyab*, Dar El-Awada, Beirut, 1971.

as three of his longest poems ʔalmu:mi:su-lʕamya:ʔ (The Blind Whore), ḥaffa:ru-lqubu:r (The Grave-digger) and ʔalʔasliḥatu wa-lʔaṭfa:l (The Arms and the Children). This collection was published towards the end of 1960.[1] Thus, the three collections together (comprising 61 poems written at different stages of El-Sayyab's productive life) may be considered as a fair representative sample of his poetry. A more comprehensive study will require reference to all his poetical works.

The poems in these collections have lent themselves to three considerably significant themes about which relevant lexical statements can be made :

1. Theme of Time.
2. Theme of Futility.
3. Theme of Love.

Theme of Time

The study of the poet's language correlated with this theme reveals that the poet is obsessed by the notion that time is against him. The idea of 'departure' from this life is a frequently occurring motif in his poems : the hour is 'hastening' [2], the day is 'drowning' [3], and time in general is but 'a calendar inscribed on a shroud'.[4] It seems that the long list of calamities which befell the writer all through his life made him haunted by this idea.

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1) See Aloush, N., *Badr Shakir El-Sayyab, a biography,* Dar El-Kitab El-Arabi, Tripoli, 1974.
2) ʔassa:ʕatu-lʕajla:, *Poetical Works,* op. cit., p. 31.
3) ʔannaha:r - ilɣari:q, ibid., p. 35.
4) taqwi:man xuṭṭa ʕala kafan, ibid., p. 74.

According to his biographers,[1] he was first dismissed from teachers' training institute in 1946, was taken under arrest and imprisoned in the same year, was dismissed from his job as a teacher in 1949 and prevented from practising his teaching career for 10 years, was always frustrated in his love and political aspirations, and finally he had poor physical constitution which led to total paralysis.

His collocations with lexical items of time-reference associated with this theme are interesting. The collocates (i.e. the habitually accompanying words) of these items imply depression, melancholy and darkness. This applies to (parts of) the day like hour, morning, day-time, evening and night ; to (parts of) the year such as day, month and year ; and to seasons like winter, autumn and summer. The following collocations are characteristic : (the number of page(s) in which the collocation occurs is included between square brackets)

I. (Parts of) the Day

Lexical Item	Collocates (Lexical Sets)
ʔassa:ʕa/sa:ʕa (the hour/an hour)	ʔalʕajla: (the hastening) [31];[2] ʔalbayn (the separation, the parting, the departure [59]

1) See, for example, 1. Abbas, I., *Badr Shakir El-Sayyab, A Study in his Life and Poetry*, Dar El-Thakafa, Beirut, second edition, 1972. 2. Balata, I., *Badr Shakir El-Sayyab, His Life and Poetry*, Dar El-Nahar, Beirut, 1971.

2) Reference in this and the following quotations is made to *The Poetical Works of Badr Shakir El-Sayyab*, Dar El-Awda, Beirut, 1971.

ʔaṣṣaba:ḥ (the morning)	ʔalḥara:ʔiq (the fires) [369]
ʔannaha:r (the day-time)	ʔalɣari:q (the drowning) [35]; summira (was stunned) [468] ; humu:m (cares, troubles) [469]
ʔalɣuru:b (the sunset)	ʔirtijafa:t (tremors) [30] ; ʔiktiʔa:b (depression) [36, 57, 98]
ʔalmasa:ʔ (the evening)	ʕabas (frowned) [63] ; ʔalkaʔi:b (the gloomy, the melancholic) [100, 106]; ʔalʔaxi:r (the last) [589]
ʔallayl/laya:li: (the night/nights)	ẓulma (darkness) [32,41] ; ʔalxari:f (the autumn) [66] ; ʔaΘΘaqi:l (the heavy) [95]; ʔalxinzi:ru-ʃʃaris (the wild pig) [329]; ʃaqa:ʔ (misery) [329] ; yujhaḍu (is abortive) [369]

2. (Parts of) the year

Lexical Item	Collocates
ʔalyawm/ ʔayya:m (the day/days)	ʔalʔaxi:r (the last) [31]; ʔaṭṭiwa:l (the long, i.e. boring) [60]; ʔalkaʔi:ba:t (the gloomy, the depressing) [60]
ʃuhu:r (months)	ʔalju:ʕ (the hunger) [373]
ʔassini:n (the years)	ḍaji:j (noise) [19]; ɣuba:r (dust) [34]; ʔaʃba:ḥ (ghosts, phantoms) [40]; ʔaΘΘiqa:l (the heavy) [58,91]; maja:ʕa:t (famines) [368]

3. Seasons

Lexical Item	Collocates
ˀaʃʃita:ˀ (the winter)	ˀaʃba:ḥ (ghosts) [63]; jali:d (snow) [91];
ṣɑyf/ˀɑṣṣɑyf (summer/ the summer)	qɑṣi:r (short) [91] ; ˀaswada-lɣuyu:m (of dark clouds) [469]
ˀalxari:f (the autumn)	ˀalḥazi:n (the sad) [65] laya:li... ˀɑṭṭiwɑ:l (the long nights of...) [68] ; ˀiṣfirɑ:r (paleness) [90]
ˀalfuṣu:l (the seasons)	ʃabaḥ (ghost) [46]

4. Time in General

Lexical Item	Collocates
ˀazzaman / ˀazzama:n (the time)	ḥaʃraja:t (last breaths before death) [33] ; taqwi:man xuṭṭɑ ʕala kafan (a calendar inscribed on a shroud) [74] ; ˀaΘΘaqi:l (the heavy) [80]
ˀalˀabad (eternity)	taʕbasna mala:miḥ... (the features will frown) [53]

The haunting idea of departure and the torture of anticipating this moment make the poet anxious to get all he can from life, especially the enjoyment of love and the beauty of natural scenery. These two major topics

are often blended in his poetry. For instance, he addresses his beloved in the poem entitled ʔaṣa:ṭi:r (Legends) :

taʕa:lai fama: za:la najmu-lmasa:ʔ
yuði:bu-ssana fi-nnaha:ri-lɣari:q

. . . .

yuðakkiruni bi-rraḥi:l
ʃira:ʕun xila:la-ttaḥa:ya yaðu:b
wa kaffun tulawwiḥu ya: lalʕaða:b !

★

taʕa:lai fama: za:la lawnu-ssaḥa:b
ḥazi:nan .. yuðakkiruni bi-rraḥi:l
raḥi:l ?!
taʕa:lai, taʕa:lai .. nuði:bu-zzama:n [1]

(Come, the evening star is still
Melting the light in the drowning day

. . . .

It reminds me of departure :
A sail that fades during greetings
And a hand that waves. What torture !

★

Come, the colour of clouds is still
Sad .. It reminds me of departure
Departure ?!
Come, come .. Let us melt the time.)

---

1) *Poetical Works*, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

However, this continual fear of departure or death is explicitly expressed in his poem riˀatun tatamazzaq (A Lung that is Bursting) :

> ˀadda:ˀu yuθliju rɑ:ḥati:, wa yuţfiˀu-lɣada..fi: xaya:li
>
> wa yaʃullu ˀanfa:si, wa yuţliquha: kaˀanfa:si - ððuba:li
>
> tahtazzu fi: riˀatayni yarquşu fi:hima ʃabaḥu-zzawa:li
>
> maʃdu:datayni ˀila ʐɑlɑ:mi - lqɑbri bi-ddami wa-ssuʢa:li . .
>
> ★
>
> wa: ḥasrata: !? kaða: ˀamu:t ? kama yajiffu nada - şşɑbɑ:ḥ ? [1]
>
> (The disease is stupefying my comfort, and extinguishing the morrow . . in my imagination
> It paralyses my breaths, and then expells them as if they were the breaths of a wick
> Flickering in two lungs in which the ghost of extinction dances
> And which are drawn towards the darkness of the grave by blood and cough
>
> ★
>
> Alas ! ? Am I dying like this ? As the morning dew dries ?)

1) Ibid., p. 42.

This pessimistic note is often reinforced by a heavy use of lexical items that are reminiscent of

a. death and murder
b. torture and pain
c. extinction and annihilation

The following items are illustrative :

a. **Items implying death and murder :**

ˀajhaḍa (to make abortive) and its derived forms like tujhaḍu (she is made abortive) and ˀijha:ḍ (abortion) ; yadfinu (he buries), dafn (burial) ; tura:b (dust) ; qabr/ maqbara / madfan / rams / jada Θ (grave); ḍari:ḥ (shrine); ˀarrada: (destruction) ; ˀalmawt (death) ; Θaʕlabu-lmawt (the fox of death) ; fa:risu-lmawt (the knight of death) ; ʕazra:ˀi:l, ʕizri:l (the Angel of death); kafan, ˀakfa:n (shroud, shrouds) ; ha:wiyatu-ljaḥi:m (the pit of hell) ; ˀalḥufratu-ssawda:ˀ (the black pit) ; ˀalqa:til (the murderer) ; ˀalqati:la (the she-murdered) ; ˀalmujrim (the criminal); taxnuqu (you (m.s.) strangle, she strangles) ; damm (blood); kawmun mina-lˀaʕẓum (a heap of bones) ; ˀaʃla:ˀan wa ˀawṣa:la: (broken limbs) ; ˀaṭra: fuki-dda:miya (your (f.s.) bleeding limbs) ; ˀiɣtiya:l (assassination) ; ˀalwaba:ˀ (the epidemic).

b. **Items implying torture and pain**

ˀassawṭ (the whip), sawṭu-lbaɣy (the whip of oppression); ˀassajja:n (the jailer); ˀaḍḍaḥa:ya: (the victims); ˀalˀa:-la:m (the pains); ˀalmiqṣala (the guillotine); ˀaljalla:d

(the persecutor); yaṣlubu (he crucifies), ʔaṣṣali:b (the cross).

c. Items implying extinction and annihilation

ʔinḥalla (it dissolved); ða:ba (it melted); yuɣriqu (it/he drowns); tuṭfiʔu (it/she puts off, you (m.s.) put off); tuḥriqu (it/she burns, you (m.s.) burn); ɣa:bat (it/she disappeared); xaba: (it went off); ʔalxa:biya (the extinguished); tanʔa:(it/she goes far, you (m.s.) go far); ḍa:ʕa (it was lost); tanḍubu(it dwindles); tatala:ʃa: (it fades out/disappears gradually); yafna: (it/he dies out); ʔalʕadam (annihilation, nothingness); tanha:ru (it/she breaks down, you (m.s.) break down).

But it may be noted that two lexical items with time-reference in El-Sayyab's poetry require special attention. These are ʔarrabi:ʕ (the spring) and ʔalɣad (tomorrow, the morrow). In his earlier poems, i.e. in his two collections ʔazha:run ða:bila and ʔaṣa:ṭi:r, the spring is always associated with words that imply sweet scent, smiles or happiness; it is the symbol of love and beauty. Other seasons like winter and autumn are suggestive of 'black phantoms', 'sadness' and 'dreary nights', whereas spring is prettiness itself and the 'aroma of love'. Notice, for example, the following two quotations :

1. ḥasna:ʔa .. ya: ẓilla - rrabi:ʕ, malaltu ʔaʃba:ḥa-ʃʃita:ʔ

su:dan tuṭillu mina-nnawa:fiði kullama ʕaba-sa-lmasa:ʔ [1]

(O pretty girl .. the shadow of spring, I am bored with the phantoms of winter
Black (phantoms) looking out of the windows whenever the night frowns.)

2. ʕaṭṭɑrti ʔaḥla:mi biha:ða - ʃʃaða:
min ʃɑʕriki - lmustarsili - lʔaswadi
ʔaljawwu min ḥawli: rɑbi:ʕun ḥaba:
min xidrihi - nna:ʔi: ʔila-lmawʕidi
ha:ða ʕabi:ru - lḥubbi fajjartihi
yabḥaθu ʕan majran lahu fi: ɣadi [2]

(You (f.s.) have perfumed my dreams with this scent
From your black long smooth hair
The atmosphere around me is but the spring that crawled
From his distant shelter to the appointment
This is the fragrance of love you have burst
Looking for a stream in the morrow.)

Other examples of this cheerful and optimistic picture of ʔɑrrɑbi:ʕ are :

3. fajran yulawwinu bi-nnada: ; darba - rrɑbi:ʕi, wa bi-ḍḍiya:ʔ [3]

---

1) See the poem entitled ʕayna:ni zarqɑ:wa:n (Two Blue Eyes), ibid., p. 63.
2) See the poem entitled ʕabi:r (Fragrance), ibid., p. 61.
3) Ibid., p. 44.

(A dawn that colours the path of the spring
with dew and light.)

4. wa ɣadan ʔiða-rtajafa-ʃʃita:ʔu ʕala-btisa:ma:-
ti-rrɑbi:ʕ [1]

(And tomorrow when the winter trembles over
the smiles of the spring.)

5. ʔaʔanti-llati rɑddadatha: muna:ya
ʔana:ʃi:da taḥta ḍiya:ʔi-lqɑmɑr
taɣanna biha: fi: laya:li-rrɑbi:ʕ
fataḥlumu ʔazha:ruhu bi-lmɑṭɑr [2]

(Are you (f.s.) the one(whose) name my hopes
have iterated
As odes in the moonlight
Which sang them in the spring nights
Then his flowers dreamt of rain.)

In his later poems, e.g. in madi:natu-ssindiba:d (The City of Sindbad), the spring has turned into a symbol of futility, sterility and hopelessness :

ya: ʔayyuha - rrɑbi:ʕ
ya: ʔayyuha - rrɑbi:ʕu ma - llaði daha:k ?
jiʔta bila mɑṭɑr
jiʔta bila zahar
jiʔta bila Θamar
wa ka:na muntaha:ka miΘla mubtada:k [3]

1) Ibid., p. 46.
2) See the poem entitled hawan wa:ḥid (One Love), ibid., p. 49.
3) Ibid., p. 468.

(O Spring !
O Spring, what is wrong with you ?
You have come without rain,
You have come without flowers,
You have come without fruit,
And your end was like your beginning.)

The same is true with the word ʔalɣad (tomorrow). In yawmu-ṭṭuɣa:ti-lʔaxi:r (The Last Day of the Tyrants) and ʔila jami:la bu: ḥe:rd (To Jamila Bu Herd) ʔalɣad is associated with hope and brightness. The future is more cheerful than the past and the present. Thus, the word ʔalɣad is collocated in these poems with ʔalqari:b (the near) [375], ṣubḥ ... ʔaṣṣa:ṭiʕ (the bright morning of...) [377], ʔa:ṣa:l ... ʔazza:hiya (the illuminated evenings of...) [377], ʔazza:hi (the bright, the illuminated) [385]. But in madi:natu-ssindiba:d the poet is asking :

... wa-lɣadu ?
mata sayu:ladu ? [1]
(... And tomorrow ?
When is it going to be born ?)

He is dubious about the future in his country :

ɣadan sayuṣlabu-lmasi:ḥu fi-lʕira:q [2]
(Tomorrow Christ will be crucified in Iraq)

ʔalɣad has become the symbol of darkness :

1) Ibid., p. 467.
2) Ibid., p. 468.

fa yuẓlimu-lɣadu [1]
(Then tomorrow becomes dark)

and even when he speaks in ʔunʃu:datu-lmaṭar (The Ode to Rain) about ʕa:lami-lɣadi-lfatiyy, wa:hibi-lḥaya:h ! [2] (the young world of tomorrow, the giver of life !) he indicates his uncertainty by terminating this line of verse with an exclamation mark.

Theme of Futility

Connected with the theme of time is the theme of futility which is particularly observable in his collection ʔunʃu:datu-lmaṭar (The Ode to Rain). In this collection the poet is expressing his indignation against the deplorable state of affairs prevalent at that time in Iraq, North Africa, Egypt and Korea. His images correlated with this theme are almost derived from the language of birth, abortion, sterility and death. Heavy metaphorical use of language characterizes the treatment of 'futility'. We find here more unusual collocations than in the other themes. For example, in the poem entitled fi-lmaɣribi-lʕarabi (In North Africa) the pregnant women give birth to ashes :

... fama: waladna siwa: rama:d [3]
(... They gave birth only to ashes.)

1) Ibid., p. 470.
2) Ibid., p. 480.
3) See fi-lmaɣribi-lʕarabi, ibid., p. 399.

and sterility is planted in the abdomens of Parisian prostitutes :

wa fi: ba:risa tattaxiðu-lbaɣa:ya:
wasa:ʔidahunna min ʔalami-lmasi:ḥ
wa ba:ta-lʕuqmu yuzraʕu fi ḥaʃa:ha: [1]

(And in Paris the prostitutes use as their
Pillows the pain of Christ
And sterility was planted in their abdomens.)

Other unusual collocations are :

a. **of birth, abortion and sterility :**

1. ʔallaylu yujhaḍu (the night is made abortive) [369]

2. ... wa fi raḥimi jani:n
ʕurya:nu du:na famin wa la baṣarin ...
(... and in my womb there is a naked embryo
Without a mouth or an eye...) [371]

3. kam laylatin ẓalma:ʔa ka-rraḥim ...
(Many a dark night as dark as a womb...) [374]

4. ... ka-lji:fati-lḥubla bima: laysa ɣayra ʕuqmi-lwalu:d
(... like a pregnant corpse with nothing but the sterility of a procreative (goat)) [407]

1) Ibid., p. 400.

5. ʾalʿuqmu fi-lmaza:riʿ
(Sterility is in the fields) [467]

6. tujhaḍu-nnisa:ʾu fi-lmaja:zir
(The women are made abortive in the slaughter-houses) [470]

b. **of death and correlated ideas :**

7. man yaṣlubu-lxubza-llaði naʾkul ?
(Who is crucifying the bread we eat ?) [378]

8. min qa:ʿi qabri: ʾaṣi:ḥ
ḥatta taʾinna-lqubu:r
(From the depth of my grave I cry
till the graves moan) (389)

9. ...ʾaytamta kulla rawḥin mina-lma:ḍi:
(You (m.s.) have bereaved every spirit of the past from its parents) [408]

10. darbun kaʾafwa:hi-lluḥu:d-
(A path like the mouth of graves) [556]

11. ...hazzat-ilʾummaha:tu-lmuhu:d
ʿala huwwatin min ẓala:mi-lluḥu:d
(The mothers moved the cradles
upon a chasm of the graves darkness) [586]

Another stylistic device associated with the theme of futility is the use of the names of implements or natural elements accompanied by the negative or the antonym of their habitual or expected collocates. The following examples illustrate this device :

a. **Negatives** :

1. mana:jilu la: taḥṣuḍ
   (Scythes that do not reap) [466]

2. ˀaza:hiru la: taʕqud
   (Flowers that do not yield (flowers)) [466]

3. maza:riʕu sawda:ˀu min ɣayri ma:ˀ !
   (Black fields without water !) [466]

4. ˀarrabi:ʕu ... bila zahar
   ... bila Θamar (The spring ... without flowers... without fruit) [468]

5. saḥa:ˀibu ... duna ˀimṭa:r
   (Clouds ... without raining) [487]

6. ... wa muqlata:ni tuḥaddiqa:ni, bila: bari:q wa bila: dumu:ʕin, fi-lfaḍa:ˀ
   (... And two eyes that gaze, without glitter, and without tears, in the space) [545-46]

7. ˀala baldatun laysa fi:ha: sama:ˀ ?
   (Is there a land without a sky?) [587]

b. **Antonyms** :

8. wa ˀaqbala-ṣṣayfu ʕalayna: ˀaswada-lɣuyu:m
   (And the summer came with black clouds) [469]

9. xursun nawa:qi:suk...
   (Your bells are mute...) [500]

10. ḥatta kaʔanna maʕa:ṣira-ddami da:fiqa:tun
bi-lxumu:r
(As if the suqueezers of blood were pouring liquors) [549]

11. ...wa lastu ʔasmaʕu min γina:ʔin
ʔilla-nnaʕi:b
(I hear nothing but hooting out of singing) [550]

12. ... laʔazraʕanna mina-lwuru:di
ʔalfan turawwa bi-ddima:ʔ
(I will grow one thousand roses watered with blood) [550]

14. tuðarri:humu quwwatun ẓa:lima
kadawwa:matin min riya:ḥi-ssaʕi:r
(An oppressive force scatters them
As if it were a whirlwind from the winds of hell) [589]

These images are the poet's commentary in the poems called madi:natu-ssindiba:d (Sindbad's Town), ʔunʃu:datu-lmaṭar (The Ode to Rain), ḥaffa:ru-lqubu:r (The Grave-digger), and ʔalʔasliḥatu wa-lʔaṭfa:l (The Arms and the Children) on the use of violence and tyranny against free men and innocent women and children in the then oppressed countries like Iraq, Algeria, Egypt and Korea. What the tyrants are doing is against the laws of life because they deny what is natural and obvious:

liʔanna-ṭṭuγa:h
yuri:du:na ʔalla: tutimma-lḥaya:h
mada:ha:, wa ʔalla: yuḥissa-lʕabi:d
....
....

.. ʔanna-lḥaya:ta-lḥaya:ta-nɛita:q,
wa ʔan yunkiru: ma: tara:hu-lɛuyu:n [1]

(Because the tyrants
Wills that life should not finish
Its round, and that slaves should not feel

. . . .
. . . .

.. that life, life is liberation (from slavery),
and that they should deny what eyes can see)

Theme of Love

Another obsession in El-Sayyab's poetry is woman. He is in eternal quest for love, but his search is vain. His treatment of love develops from the idea that love is all, the warmth and incentive to life, yet his love is lost, a state which leads him to boredom and despair. First, in his poem ðikrɑ: liqɑ:ʔ (The Memory of a Meeting) he says :

wa ʔayqɑntu ʔanna-lḥaya:h ; ʔalḥaya:ta
— biɣayri-lhawa — qiṣṣɑtun fa:tira
wa ʔanni biɣayri-llati ʔalhabat
xaya:li biʔanfa:siha-lɛɑ:ṭirɑ ...
ʃari:dun yaʃuqqu-zdiḥa:ma-rrija:l
wa taxnuquhu-lʔaɛyunu-ssa:xirɑ [2]

(I made sure that life ; life

1) See ʔalʔasliḥatu wa-lʔɑṭfɑ:l, ibid., pp. 581-82.
2) See ʔazha:run wa ʔɑṣɑ:ṭ:ir, op. cit., p. 85.

— without love — is a lifeless story
And that without (the girl) who kindled
my imagination with her fragrant breaths ...
I am a vagrant who jostles against the crowd of men
and is strangled by the mocking eyes)

It is a kind of platonic love that the poet is in search of. His beloved is often unknown. He is like Romeo in his love with Rosalind ; he is in love with love itself. This tiring search for ideal love makes El-Sayyab ask questions like :

1. hal tusammi:na-llaði ʔalqɑ huya:man ?
ʔam junu:nan bi-lʔama:ni ? ʔam ɣɑra:ma: ? [1]
(Do you (s.f.) call what I am undergoing infatuation ?
Or craziness about hopes ? Or love ?)

2. ʔahuwa ḥubbun kullu ha:ða ? ! xabbiri:ni: [2]
(Is all that love ? ! Tell me)

3. lam ʔalqɑ ʕaðrɑ:ʔi: ..
fa kayfa-ṣṣɑbru ya: nahra-lʕaða:rɑ: ? ! [3]
(I haven't found my virgin maid ...
How can I be patient, O river of virgin maids ?!)

In short, it is a ' lost love ' :

lasti ʔanti-llati biha: taḥlumu-rro:ḥ —

1) Ibid., p. 101.
2) Ibid., p. 103.
3) Ibid., p. 112.

wa la:kinnahu-lɣara:mu-lmuḍa:ɛ [1]
(You (s.f.) are not the one that my soul dreams of—
but it is the lost love)

Side by side with this platonic love expressed through romantic images as a background, El-Sayyab's poetry is also brimful with sensual love expressed through the detailed description of woman's body. It is sufficient to read Section 2 of ḥaffa:ru-lqubu:r (The Grave-digger) to see these sensual images :

1. wa nuɛu:matu-lkatifayni, wa-ʃʃaɛru-lmuɛaṭṭaru, wa-ʃʃuḥu:bu,
   wa taʔalluqu-lji:di-ʃʃahiyyi, wa lafḥatu-nnafasi-lbahi:ri [2]
   (And the smoothness of the two shoulders, and the perfumed hair, and the paleness,
   And the glittering of the desired neck, and the whiff of the taken breath)

2. wa-lḥalmata:ni ʔaʃuddu fawqahuma:
   biṣadri: fi-ʃtiha:ʔ—
   ḥatta ʔuḥissahuma: biʔaḍla:ɛi wa ʔaɛtaṣira-ddima:ʔ [3]
   (And the two nipples : I press them so hard with craving against my breast—

   Till I feel them with my ribs, and squeeze the blood)

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1) Ibid., p. 99.
2) ḥaffa:ru-lqubu:r, op. cit., p. 555.
3) Ibid., p. 556.

Parallel to this duality between ideal love and carnal desire is duality between the force of love and the force of death. I may quote the critic Ihsan Abbas here:

> "Scarcely does the poet speak in his poems about the magnificence of love or the pain of loss when he shivers from terrible death ; and between these two forces he seeks his hope of deliverance from the two together." [1]

This duality is depicted by the use of the technique of 'polarities' [2] or oppositions. The vast majority of these polarities imply a conflict between his forward movement and regression or standing still. For example, in section 8 of fi-ssu:qi-lqɑdi:m (In the Old Market) he is going forward to meet his beloved :

> ˀana: sawfa ˀɑmḍi: ba:ḥiΘan ʕanha,
> saˀalqɑ:hɑ: huna:k [3]
> (I shall go forward to look for her,
> I shall find her there)

but in section 10 he is unable to move :

> ... bayda ˀannaka sawfa tabqɑ:, lan tasi:r !
> qɑdama:ka summirata: fama tataḥarraka:n.. [4]

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1) Abbas, I., *Badr Shakir El-Sayyab, a Study in his Life and Poetry*, Dar El-Thakafa, Beirut, second edition, 1972, p. 132; my translation.

2) This term is used by Firth ; see 'Modes of Meaning' in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*, op. cit., p. 199.

3) fi-ssu:qi-lqɑdi:m, op. cit., p. 26.

4) Ibid., p. 27.

(...but you are going to stay, you are not going to walk !
Your feet are standing still, they do not move..)

These two contrasting images are reinforced by three other polarities in the same section :

1. ... ʔayyuha-nna:ʔi:-lqari:b [1]
(...O you distant (and) near)

2. laka ʔanta waḥdak ...

. . . .

ʔinni liɣayrik ... [2]
(I am for you only ...

. . .

I am for another (man)...)

3. ʔana: sawfa ʔamḍi: ...
faṭawwaqatni: wa hya tahmis «lan tasi:r ! » [3]
(I am going forward ...
Then she embraced me whispering, «You are not going forward ! »)

Then the two contrasting images are deepened in section 11 where they are, again, juxtaposed together:

ʔana: sawfa ʔamḍi: ! fartaxat ʕanni yada:ha:, wa-ẓẓala:mu yaṭɣa: ...
wa la:kinni: waqaftu wa milʔu ʕaynayya-ddumu:ʕ! [4]

1) Ibid., p. 27.
2) Ibid., p. 27.
3) Ibid., p. 28.
4) Ibid., p. 28.

(I am going forward ! Then she released her hands from me, and darkness was prevailing... But I stood still with tears flooding my eyes !)

Other examples of this conflict between advancing forward and standing still or regression are :

1. sawfa ʔamḍi: ḥawwili ʕaynayki la: tarni: ʔilayya ! !
   ʔinna siḥran fi:hima: yaʔba: ʕala rijlayya masi:ra: [1]
   (I am going along. Turn your eyes ; don't prolong your look at me ! !
   In them there's magic that prevents my legs from walking.)

2. saʔamḍi:... fala: taḥlumi: bi-lʔiya:b
   ʕala waqʕi ʔaqda:miya-nna:ʔiya [2]
   (I am going forward.. Don't dream of my coming back
   on the sound of my distant footsteps)

3. wa waqaftu ʔanẓuru, fi-ẓẓala:m, wa sirti ʔanti ʔila-nnaha:r [3]
   (And I stood looking, in the darkness, and you (f.s.) went along to daylight !)

4. wa ṭa:la-ntiẓa:ri.... kaʔanna-zzama:na
   tala:ʃa: falam yabqa ʔilla-ntiẓa:r !
   wa ʕayna:ya milʔu-ʃʃama:li-lbaʕi:d

1) Poem entitled sawfa ʔamḍi:, op. cit., p. 48.
2) wada:ʕ (Farewell), op. cit., p. 57.
3) sita:r (A Curtain), op. cit., p. 76.

fa ya:laytani: ʔastaṭi:ʕu-lfara:r [1]
(I've been waiting for long.. As if time faded
away and nothing remained except waiting !
And my eyes are gazing towards the far north
I wish I could run away..)

However, the series of polarities that deepens this duality is extended, especially through the collection of ʔazha:run wa ʔaṣa:ṭi:r. For instance, in ʔalliqa:ʔu-lʔaxi:r (The Last Meeting) there is first a lighted window, then the beam dissolves in the depth of the darkness of night. [2] Again, in ʔaṣa:ṭi:r (Legends) the night star overspreads the silence of the road first with its sparkle and then with its dimness. [3] Other examples of word-polarities are:

1. wa wadadtu la: ṭalaʕa-ʃʃuru:qu ʕalayya
   ʔin ma:la-lɣuru:b [4]
   (I wished I did not see the (next) sunrise when
   sunset arrived)

2. fi: ʔa:xiri sa:ʕa:ti-llayl,
   yaṣḥu:..wa yana:m.

   . . .

   ʔinna: sanamu:t
   wa sanansa:, fi: qa:ʕi-llaḥd ?
   ḥubban yaḥya: maʕana:.. wa yamu:t ! [5]

1) saji:n (A Prisoner), op. cit., p. 79.
2) ʔalliqa:ʔu-lʔaxi:r, op. cit., p. 32.
3) ʔaṣa:ṭi:r, op. cit., p. 35.
4) riʔatun tatamazzaq, op. cit., p. 43.
5) Section 3 of ʔuɣniyatun qadi:ma (An Old Song), op. cit., p. 73.

(In the last hours of night,
He awakes .. and sleeps.

. . .

We are going to die
And are we going to forget, in the depth of the grave ?
Love that lives with us .. and dies !)

. . .

3. huna: ʔanta bayna-ḍḍiya:ʔi-ḍḍaʔi:l
wa bayna-dduja: fi-lfaḍa:ʔi-rraḥi:b [1]
(Here you are between the faint light
and the darkness in the vast space)

4. ʔa ʔaẓallu ʔaðkuruha: ..wa tansa:ni [2]
(Shall I keep on remembering her .. while she forgets me ?)

5. kam tamanna: qalbiya-lmaklu:mu
law lam tastaji:bi:
min baʕi:din li-lhawa:, ʔaw min qari:b [3]
(How often have my wounded heart
wished that you (f.s.) did not respond
to Love from far, or from near)

1) ðikra: liqa:ʔ (The Memory of a Meeting), op. cit., p. 82.
2) Section 2 of fi-lqaryati-ẓẓalma:ʔ (In the Dark Village), op. cit., p. 94.
3) hal ka:na ḥubban (Was it Love ?), op. cit., p. 102

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II. A MODERN APPROACH
TO
CLASSICAL ARABIC GRAMMAR

II. A MODERN APPROACH TO CLASSICAL ARABIC GRAMMAR

> " Traditional grammar ... is normative and assumes the role of prescribing rules, not of recording facts; it lacks overall perspective. "[1]
>
> F. DE SAUSSURE

Since Sibawayh investigated the rules of Arabic grammar about twelve centuries ago this grammar has undergone little or no change. Most of these rules were deduced on logical, conceptual or semantic criteria. But recent developments and findings of modern linguistics have made it necessary that the formulation of grammatical statements should be based on observable phenomena. We are in need of a scientific approach in order to describe our language systematically and accurately. Our students at schools and universities still memorize rules about ʔɑḍḍɑmi:r-ilmustatir (the concealed pronoun!), ʔɑḍḍɑmi:r-ilmabni ʕala-lfatḥ fi: maḥalli rɑfʕ (the pronoun ending with an unchangeable fatḥa in place of ḍɑmmɑ), and ʔalmi:za:n-iṣṣɑrfi: (paradigms), but the

1) De Saussure, F., *Course in General Linguistics*, translated from the French by Wade Baskin, Fontana/Collins, 1974, p. 82.

majority of these students are still incapable of speaking or writing good and correct Arabic. Since the learning of these rules has proved useless in practice, there must be something wrong with the traditional approach. Foreign scholars have tried to rewrite Arabic grammar in the light of modern descriptive linguistics, but it is incumbent upon us, the Arabs, to revise and reconstruct our traditional grammar if we want our language to flourish and spread among the greatest number of educated people, especially after the world society has recognized Arabic as one of the major international languages.

However, transition from the old school to the modern one should not be made abrupt. It should be introduced gradually and cautiously. Neither should the change be overhaul and complete, but changes should be restricted only to rules that cannot be justified on formal grounds and that cannot be made the subject of precise and rigorous statements. We cannot go far in condemning traditional grammar. A lot of terms, distinctions and usages are still valid. All that we claim is the modification of the traditional approach so that we may bring our grammar in line with the practice of the modern schools of linguistics.

The purpose of this paper is to examine samples of the deficiences and ambiguities of traditional Arabic grammar still taught in our schools and universities, and to make suggestions as to how the relevant categories and structures should be redefined in formal terms.

Take first the classification of the simple sentence in the present grammar books. This type of sentence is classified into :

1. Nominal sentences : A nominal sentence begins with a noun. Under this class examples like the following are cited :

> ʔaṭṭiflu yuḥibbu-llaʕib
> (The child likes to play.)
>
> ʔarrajulu yataṣabbabu ʕaraqan
> (The man is sweating.)
>
> ʔatta:jiru yataʕarraḍu li-lxasa:rati fi: tija:ratih
> (The merchant is exposed to loss in his trade.)

2. Verbal sentences : A verbal sentence begins with a verb (past, present or imperative), e.g.

> ja:ʔa-θθaʕlabu
> (The fox came.)
>
> qaṣada ḥaẓi:rata-ddaja:j
> (He/It went to the hens' pen.)
>
> tuḥibbu-lʔmmu ʔabna:ʔaha:
> (The mother likes her children.)
>
> ʔunẓur-ilkalba xalfak
> (Look at the dog behind you.) [1]

1) These and the preceding examples under 1. are taken from ʔannahju-lwa:ḍiḥ fi: qawa:ʕidi-lluɣati-lʕarabiyya (The Clear Way in the Rules of Arabic Grammar) prescribed for the first year, intermediate schools, Lebanon, Almaktaba Al-Asriyya Publications, Beirut, 1971, pp. 9-15.

The basis of this classification is formally inaccurate. The sentences in the first set of examples are called nominal although they contain verbs. Thus, they can easily be made verbal with inversion of subject and verb, without any difference in meaning :

yuḥibbu-ṭṭiflu-llaʕib
(The child likes to play.)

yataṣabbabu-rrajulu ʕaraqan
(The man is sweating.)

yataʕarraḍu-tta:jiru li-lxasa:rati fi: tija:ratih
(The merchant is exposed to loss in his trade.)

A more defensible and observable basis for classification will be the absence or the presence of a verb in the nominal and the verbal sentences respectively. Accordingly, the set of examples under 1. above will be considered as verbal (not nominal) sentences since each contains a verb. By this division we shall also surmount the difficulty of the often-confusing category called ʔaḍḍami:ru-lmustatir (the concealed pronoun). In conventional grammar the subject in the so-called nominal sentence ʔaṭṭiflu yuḥibbu-llaʕib is said to be 'ḍami:r mustatir taqdi:ruhu huwa yaʕu:du ʕala-ṭṭifl' (a concealed pronoun estimated as huwa (he) referring to ʔaṭṭifl (the child)). This roundabout way of defining the subject is avoided in the new classification. The subject here is ʔaṭṭiflu which is considered as front shifted in the verbal sentence.[1]

1) on the analogy of the front shifting of the predicate in sentences like fi: jaybi: nuqu:dun (There is money in my pocket.) where fi: jaybi: as a front shifted predicate is recognized by traditional grammarians.

The simple nominal sentence will then be described as a sentence which is distinguished by the absence of a verb and which consists of a subject in the first position followed by a predicate. But here arises the problem of the definition of the predicate (ʔalxabar) in traditional grammar books. According to these books, the predicate might be :

a — a noun ; examples like the following are given:

ʔaʃʃita:ʔu qa:risun
(The winter is severe.)

ha:ða-lka:tibu maʕru:fun
(This writer is (well-) known.)

ʔanni:lu ʕaẓi:mun
(The Nile is great.)

ʔarrafi:qu mubtahijun
(The comrade is joyful.)

b — a sentence (nominal or verbal), e.g.

ʔaṭṭuyu:ru taɣri:duha jami:lun
(The singing of the birds is nice.)

ʔaʃʃamsu tursilu ʔaʃiʕʕataha-dda:fiʔa
(The sun sends out its warm beams.)

c — a semi - or quasi - sentence (ʃibh jumla), i.e. an adverb/adverbial phrase or a prepositional phrase, e.g.

ʔalʕaṣa:fi:ru fawqa-lʔaɣṣa:ni
(The birds are above the branches.)

ʔaṭṭabi:ʕatu fi: manẓarin jaððа:bin
(Nature has an attractive view.) [1]

On formal grounds, this definition is not wholly accurate. First, words like qa:ris, maʕru:f, ʕaẓi:m and mubtahij are not nouns, they are adjectives in, e.g.

jawwun qa:risun (a severe weather); mumaΘΘilun maʕru:fun (a (well-) known actor); rajula:ni ʕaẓi:ma:ni (two great men), ʔawla:dun mubtahiju:n (joyful boys).

Besides, from the internal structure point of view, the word qa:ris is an active participle and the word maʕru:f is a passive participle.

Secondly, a verbal sentence cannot be considered as the predicate of the nominal sentence, since this will be contradiction in terms. According to our classification of sentences above, the sentence ʔaʃʃamsu tursilu ʔaʃiʕʕataha-dda:fiʔa is a verbal sentence where ʔaʃʃamsu is a front shifted subject of the verb tursilu. Hence, the verbal sentence should be eliminated from the constituents of nominal sentences.

Thus, the predicate of a nominal sentence may be redefined as follows :

a — an indefinite noun which agrees with the subject in number and gender, e.g.

1) See ʔannaḥw (The Grammar), for the first year, preparatory schools, Ministry of Education, Cairo, 1971, pp. 140-143.

ʔabi muhandisun
(My father is an engineer.)

ʔummi muhandisatun
(My mother is an engineer.)

b — a nominal construct. The head of the construct agrees with the subject in number and gender, e.g.

ʔana: ṣa:ḥibu-lbayt
(I am the landlord.)

ʔanti ṣa:ḥibatu-lbayt
(You (f.s.) are the landlady.)

c — a nominal sentence, e.g.

ʔalqamaru ḍawʔuhu sa:ṭiʕun [1]
(The moonlight is bright.)

d — an adjective, e.g.

ʔalwaladu mari:ḍun
(The boy is sick.)

ʔalkita:bu qadi:mun
(The book is old.)

e — a participle (active or passive) e.g.

ʔaṭṭabi:bu ba:riʕun
(The doctor is skilful.)

---

1) A nominal sentence occupying the position of the predicate should contain a pronoun which agrees with the subject in gender and number.

ˀalliṣṣu xɑ:ˀifun
(The thief is scared.)

ˀaʃʃubba:ku maksu:run
(The window is broken.)

f — an adverb (+ noun), e.g.

ˀalḥaqi:batu huna:k
(The bag/briefcase is there.)

ˀassamakatu taḥta-lma:ˀ
(The fish is under the water.)

g — a prepositional phrase, i.e. a preposition + noun, e.g.

ˀassa:ʕatu fi: jaybi:
(The watch is in my pocket.)

The last two categories which may be called semi-sentences should be distinguished from full particle sentences like :

tahta-lma:ˀi samakatun
(There is a fish under the water.)

fi: jaybi: sa:ʕatun
(There is a watch in my pocket.)

maʕi: ṭɑṣri:ḥun
(I have a permit.)

A particle sentence consists of an adverbial or a prepositional phrase in initial position followed by an indefinite

noun. In other words, the order of the sentence components is Predicate + Subject instead of the usual order Subject + Predicate in the nominal sentence. Further, a particle sentence is distinguished from a prepositional phrase by the fact that the noun in the latter may be definite or indefinite whereas the noun in a particle sentence is usually indefinite.

Another source of confusion in the present grammar book is the so-called ʕala:ma:tu-lʔiʕra:bi-lmuqaddara (the estimated markers) in verbs and nouns. First, an imperfect verb ending with ʔalif (a long open vowel) and preceded by one of the particles ʔan, lan, kay, ḥatta: and li-(i.e. la:m-ittaʕli:l) is said to be manṣu:bun bifatḥa muqaddara manʕan min ẓuhu:riha-ttaʕaðður (marked by an estimated (unseen !) fatḥa which is impossible to appear) [1], e.g.

lan tara: li-lqaṣabi buðu:ran
(You can't see seeds for the sugar-cane.)

taʃrabu-lʕaṣi:ra liyaqwa: jismuk
(You drink the juice so that you may be more healthy.)

The contradiction here is that the verb which ends with ʔalif (a long open vowel) is marked by the (estimated)

1) See El-Raghi, A., ʔaṭṭaṭbi:qu-nnaḥwi: (The Grammatical Practice), Dar El-Nahda Al-Arabiyya, Beirut, 1971, pp. 21 ff. See also ʔannaḥw (The Grammar) for the first year, preparatory schools, op. cit., pp. 105-108.

fatḥa which, in phonological terms, is a short open vowel. Scientific accuracy shows that the marker is in fact the presence of the original ʔalif in contrast with the short open vowel (fatḥa) in sentences like :

lan yarjiʕa-lmuha:jiru ʔila diya:rih
(The immigrant will not go back to his country.)

rakiba-ssafi:nata liyadu:ra ḥawla-lʔarḍ
(He went into the ship so that he might go round the world.)

Traditional grammar adds to this confusion when it comes to the treatment of ʔalʔismu-lmaqṣu:r (a noun ending with 'an' called ʔalif la:zima) like, e.g. fatan (a young man). In the nominative case its marker is said to be ḍamma muqaddara (an estimated ḍamma); in the accusative it is marked by fatḥa muqaddara (an estimated fatḥa); and in the genetive the marker is kasra muqaddara, e.g.

ja:ʔa fatan
(A young man came in.)

raʔaytu fatan
(I saw a young man.)

marartu bifatan
(I passed by a young man.)[1]

1) El-Raghy. ʔaṭṭaṭbi:qu-nnaḥwi:, op. cit., p. 22.

A quick glance at the three sentences above reveals to us that the ending of the noun is invariable, i.e. 'an' in all cases, and this is a sufficient formal criterion for the description of ʔalʔismu-lmaqṣu:r. The same is true with diptotes (ʔalmamnu:ʕ mina-ṣṣarf) like mu:sa: (Moses, a proper noun), ðikra: (remembrance, memory) and maʕna: (meaning). The genetive case marker for these diptotes is said to be fatḥa muqaddara on the analogy of other diptotes like kana:ʔisa (churches) in, e.g.

> ka:nu: yataʕabbadu:na fi: kana:ʔisa ða:ti qiba:bin murtafiʕa
> (They were praying at churches with high domes.) [1]

The difference between maʕna: and kana:ʔisa in the genetive case can be related to difference in the length of vowel; the former is marked by an invariable final long open vowel and the latter is marked by a short open vowel.[2] This lack of precision in description is, in my opinion, the result of neglect of phonology in the study

1) See ʔalmana:ru-ljadi:d fi-nnaḥwi-lʔiʕda:di: (The New Lighthouse in Preparatory Grammar), for the third year, preparatory schools, Ministry of Education, Cairo, 1973, pp. 23-33. The marker of the noun kana:ʔisa here is said to be fatḥa in place of (or as a substitute for) kasra. See ibid., p. 22.

2) Modern Grammar books agree with this definition in phonological terms, e.g. Beeston states that 'Nouns and adjectives ending in a: are incapable of any terminal vowel variation...' See Beeston, A.F., *Written Arabic*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1968, p. 90.

of Arabic grammar, although it should form an essential component of this study, as we have seen in the examples above.

Further, a noun to which the first person pronominal suffix is added has also an invariable terminal whether in the nominative, accusative or genetive case, e.g.

waqaʕa kita:bi:
(My book fell down.)

naʃartu kita:bi:
(I published my book.)

ˀintahaytu min qira:ˀati kita:bi:
(I finished reading my book.)

But the roundabout way of ˀiʕra:b (parsing) in traditional grammar assumes the presence of an estimated ḍamma, fatḥa and kasra respectively marking the noun preceding the suffix. The same applies to the broken plural and the sound feminine plural when combined with a pronominal suffix, e.g.

ja:ˀa ˀaṣdiqa:ˀi:
(My (boy) friends came.)

raˀaytu ˀaxawa:ti:
(I saw my sisters.)

marartu biˀaṣdiqa:ˀi:
(I passed by my (boy) friends.) [1]

1) See El-Raghi, ˀaṭṭaṭbi:qu-nnaḥwi:, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

These estimated or 'unseen' markers are also a cause for trouble with what the grammarians call ḥuru:fu-ljɑrri-zza:ʔida (the superfluous prepositions) like min (from) and bi (with) in the following sentences :

1. ma: ja:ʔa min rɑjulin
   (No man came.)

2. ma: rɑʔaytu min rɑjulin
   (I didn't see any man.)

3. lasta ƹalayhim bi muṣɑytirin
   (You (m.s.) have no authority over them.) [1]

From the formal viewpoint the nouns rɑjulin and muṣɑytirin are the preposition objects marked by the usual kasra, but according to traditional grammar the noun in the first example is a 'subject marked by an estimated ɖɑmmɑ prevented from appearance by the position occupied by the marker of the superfluous preposition' [2]; the noun in the second example is in the accusative case 'marked by an estimated fatḥa prevented from appearance by the position occupied by the marker of the superfluous preposition' [3]; whereas the noun in the third example is the predicate of laysa marked by an estimated fatḥa... etc. [4] Such explanation is due to the fact that

1) Ibid., pp. 26-27.
2) 'fa:ƹil mɑrfu:ƹ biɖɑmmɑ muqɑddara manaƹa min ʐuhu:riha: ʔiʃtiɣa:lu-lmaḥalli biḥarɑkati ḥarf-iljɑrri-zza:ʔid', ibid., p. 27.
3) Ibid., p. 27.
4) Ibid., p. 27.

traditional grammar often takes the criterion of meaning as the basis of differentiation between these categories, hence the formulation of these 'conceptual' rules. These are not actually existent in the language, but they are often 'hypothetic', 'assumed', 'estimated' or 'concealed'. They are vague and lack in consistence. Form, i.e. actual observable features should not be neglected for meaning. What James Sledd claimed sixteen years ago for the reform of English grammar is relevant here :

> "We cannot accept definitions which neglect these all-important formal signs. We must simply face the fact that our familiar schoolroom grammar needs drastic modification and try to frame definitions ... which will be genuinely useful." [1]

Similar to the 'estimated' markers is the treatment of the indeclinable categories called ʔalkalima:tu-lmabniyya whose endings do not vary whatever their positions in the sentence are. These categories are :

1. perfect verbs ; imperfect verbs to which the plural feminine marker (nu:n-inniswa) or the emphatic n (nu:n-ittawki:d) is annexed ; and the imperative verbs.
2. detached and attached pronouns such as ʔana (I), naḥnu (we), ʔanta (you, m.s.) ; ha: (her, its), ka (your, m.s.)..etc.

1) Sledd, J., *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*, Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago, 1959, p. 62.

3. demonstrative pronouns (except ha:ða:ni (these, m. dual nominative), ha:ta:ni (these, f. dual nom.), ha:ðaini (these, m. dual accusative and genetive), and ha:taini (these, f. dual acc. and gen.)) such as ha:ða (this, m.s.), ha:ðihi (this, f.s.), ha:ʔula:ʔ (these, m. and f. plural)..etc.

4. relative pronouns (except ʔallaða:ni (that, which, who, m. dual nom.), ʔallata:ni (that, which, who, f. dual nom.) ʔallaðaini (that, which, whom, m. dual acc. and gen.) and ʔallataini (that, which, whom, f. dual acc. and gen.)) such as ʔallaði: (that, which, who, m.s.), ʔallati: (that, which, who, f.s.), ʔallaði:na that, which, who, m. plural) ..etc.

5. conditional particles like man (he who) and ʔiða: (if).

6. interrogative particles such as ma: (what), man (who), ʔayna (where), mata (when), kayfa (how) and kam (how many).

7. some adverbs like ḥayΘu (where), ʔamsi (yesterday), ʔalʔa:na (now).

8. all prepositions like ɛala (on), min (from), fi: (in) .. etc.

Two difficulties arise in the parsing of these categories. First, traditional grammarians claim that categories like

prepositions, interrogative and negative particles are 'la: maḥalla laha: mina-lʔiʕra:b', i.e. they do not occupy a recognizable position in the sentence, on the grounds that they have 'no independent meaning which warrants a position requiring a certain case.' [1] The parsing of the following particles and prepositions illustrates this :

1. hal ḥaḍara zaydun
   (Has Zaid arrived ?)

Parsing : hal is an interrogative particle ending with suku:n and la: maḥalla laha: mina-lʔiʕra:b [2]

2. ma: ja:ʔa ʕaliyyun
   (Ali hasn't come.)

Parsing : ma: is a negative particle ending with suku:n (sic !) and la: maḥalla laha: mina-lʔiʕra:b [3]

3. ʔaktubu bi-lqalami
   (I write/am writing with the pen/pencil.)

Parsing : bi is a preposition ending with kasra and la: maḥalla laha: mina-lʔiʕra:b [3]

and so on. This, again, results from confusing meaning with form. From the standpoint of linguistic context,

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1) El-Raghi, op. cit., p. 29. For the treatment of the indeclinable categories, see ibid., pp. 29-74 ; see also ʔannaḥw for the first year, preparatory schools, op. cit., pp. 42-50.
2) El-Raghi, op. cit., p. 29.
3) Ibid., p. 29.

every particle or preposition of the above-mentioned categories has a given position in the sentence even though it has none of the recognizable cases (nominative, accusative or genetive). The interrogative particle hal and the negative particle ma: in the first two examples occupy an initial position in the sentence followed by a verb (besides other possible positions), whereas the preposition bi in the third example precedes a definite noun object to the preposition and in the genetive case. What I am suggesting here is that meaningless phrases like 'la: maḥalla laha: mina-lʔiʕra:b' should be done away with in Arabic grammar since it is not justifiable on formal criteria.

Secondly, indeclinable pronouns like the demonstrative, the detached and the attached pronouns are often associated in traditional grammar with phrases like fi: maḥalli rafʕ (in place of a ḍamma), fi: maḥalli naṣb (in place of a fatḥa) and fi: maḥalli jarr (in place of a kasra) although they are all with invariable endings in nominative, accusative and genetive cases. The parsing of the following pronouns is illustrative :

1. ha:ʔula:ʔi fataya:tun naʃi:ṭa:tun
   (These are energetic girls.)

Parsing : ʔula:ʔi [1] is a demonstrative pronoun ending with a kasra in place of a ḍamma, a subject

1) The initial ha: is called ḥarfu tanbi:h (lit. a particle of drawing attention) ; see El-Raghi, ibid., pp. 47 ff.

2. ʔanta ʕarabiyyun
(You (m.s.) are an Arab.)

Parsing : ʔanta is a detached pronoun ending with fatḥa in place of a ḍamma, a subject. [1]

3. za:rani: muḥammad
(Mohamed visited me.)

Parsing : - ni: is an attached pronoun ending with suku:n (sic !) in place of a fatḥa, an object. [2]

4. marartu bihim
(I passed by them.)

Parsing : - him is an attached pronoun ending with suku:n in place of a kasra, object to the preposition bi. [3]

The description of such categories in terms found suitable or assumed to be suitable for other categories does not conform to the principles of modern linguistics whose task 'is to give a clear and significant description of usages which *actually* occur...' [4] As I have already stated, what we really need for the investigation and systematic description of the grammatical patterns of our language is the employment of a scientific approach based on the techniques of modern descriptive linguistics.

1) Ibid., p. 35. 2) Ibid., p. 37. 3) Ibid., p. 38.
4) Gleason, H. A., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1955, p. 177. My italics.

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III. NOTES ON SOCIOLINGUISTICS



III. NOTES ON SOCIOLINGUISTICS

"Sociological linguistics is the great field for future research." [1]

J. R. FIRTH

Sociolinguistics, Sociological Linguistics, Social Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Linguistic Anthropology, Institutional Linguistics, Ethnography of Communication, Ethnography of Speaking : these are some of the labels given to the study of that area where language and socio-cultural values meet. It is a basic assumption that any study of a certain language is not complete unless it takes into account the use of this language in a given society and the characteristics of the users of the language. "The object of linguistic analysis...' says Firth, "is to make statements of meaning so that we may see how we use language to live." [2]

1) Firth, J.R., 'The Technique of Semantics', in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p. 27.

2) Firth, J. R., 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-55', in Palmer, F.R. (ed.), *Selected Papers of J.R. Firth 1952-59*, Longmans, London, 1968, p. 192.

Thus, considerations of 'meaning' [1] and 'culture' [2] in their widest senses are not to be eliminated in the study of speech events. Until recently, the trend in the study of language, especially in the United States of America, was to lay more emphasis on linguistic form. Linguistic form may well have its significance, but this form does not occur in a vacuum. It occurs in relevant situations, and both the situation and verbal behaviour are on-going. Language is first and foremost a social behaviour, and the meaning of many utterances is made more explicit in terms of their use in specific environments. Therefore, in order to make statements about the use of such utterances or texts for linguistic purposes, relations between the text and the constituents of its environment have to be described. Here, again, we may quote Firth :

> "..the text is itself a constituent of the context of situation. No statement of use can be made without taking into consideration the relations between the text and the other constituents of the situation." [3]

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1) 'Meaning' here is taken as the whole of the various functions which a linguistic form may have. See 'A synopsis', ibid., p. 174.

2) Culture, according to Malinowski, comprises :
   a - inherited artifacts, goods, and technical processes.
   b - ideas, habits and values.
   c - social organization.
   d - language.

See Malinowski, B., 'Culture', in Seligman, E.R.A. (ed), *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. iv, MacMillan and Co. Ltd., London, 1931, pp. 621-646.

3) Firth, J. R., 'Philology in the Philological Society, Presidential Address', in *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1956, p. 22.

This approach has been neglected by eminent linguists like De Saussure, Bloomfield, Sapir and Hockett, although Sapir has called attention to the importance of the study of sociological, anthropological and psychological problems which arise in the field of language. [1] Bloomfield has dismissed the study of meaning in linguistic analysis since it is 'the weak point in language-study' [2], and Sapir defined language as 'a system of voluntarily produced symbols.' [3] However, the scale is at present tipped towards the study of interdependence between sociocultural attitudes and values, and linguistic features, as 'accounts in terms of linguistic features alone cannot suffice to identify lines of cleavage in communication or levels of speech' [4] and so 'we now see ... an active diffusion and interplay between theorizing of linguistics and that of other disciplines, and it is increasingly clear that the practice of linguistics itself cannot well be cultivated without once again coming to grips with questions of a philosophical, psychological, and ethnographic order.' [5]

1) Gumperz, J. and Hymez, D. (eds.), 'The Ethnography of Communication', in *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 66, No. 6, Part 2, 1964, pp. 1-2.
2) Bloomfield, L., *Language,* George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1962, p. 140.
3) Sapir, E., *Language,* Harcourt, Brace & World. Inc., New York, 1949, p. 8.
4) Hymes, D., Introduction to Part vii 'Social Structure and Speech Community', in Hymes, D. (ed.), *Language in Culture and Society, a Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology,* Harper & Row, London, 1964, p. 388.
5) Hymes, D., 'Directions in (Ethno-) Linguistic Theory', in *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 66, No. 3, Part 2, 1964, p. 7.

Domains in which language and sociological, psychological, and ethnological questions are interrelated include, among other things, speech events, contexts of situation, language functions, bilingualism (and multilingualism), standard languages, dialects, and terms of reference and address.

Speech events may be dealt with from several angles. Hymes suggests seven constituent elements which a speech event may comprise :

1 — an addresser or a sender (i.e. a speaker).
2 — an addressee or a receiver.
3 — the form of the message.
4 — a channel (i.e. a medium of communication).
5 — a code (i.e. different styles, dialects, languages).
6 — a topic (this involves semantic study).
7 — a setting (i.e. a situation).[1]

The analyst may focus his attention on one or more of these factors. For instance, he may study role-relationship between speaker and addressee in terms of their age, sex, social status (superior, inferior, equal.. etc.) and social relationship (sanguinity, friendship, acquaintance, strangers and the like). He may study their attitudes, motives, personalities, responses or he may study the

1) Hymes, D., 'The Ethnography of Speaking', in Gladwin, T. and Sturtevant, W. (eds.), *Anthropology and Human Behaviour*, the Anthropological Society of Washington, Washington, D. C., 1962, pp. 25-29.

situational context (linguistic and/or non-linguistic) in which the message takes place.

Speech events do not occur in isolation from other events including other speech events. They are correlated with extra-linguistic circumstances or situations. Context of Situation is the term applied to the study of relationship between speech events and the situation(s) in which they take place.

> " Indeed, it is this relationship between the substance and form of a piece of language on the one hand and the extra-linguistic circumstances in which it occurs on the other, which gives what is normally called 'meaning' to utterances. At some stage or other, any linguistic description, if it is to be complete, must take this relationship into consideration. " [1]

This study does not involve a direct description of the actual phenomena : physical, physiological, political, social and so on, of the environment, but rather a systematization of these features by setting up a number of abstract and related categories with a view to explaining the function of language in its natural setting. Firth suggests the following categories :

A. The relevant features of participants : persons, personalities.

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1) Enkvist, N. et al., *Linguistics and Style*, Oxford University Press, London, 1964, p. 68.

(i) The verbal action of the participants.

(ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.

B. The relevant objects.

C. The effect of the verbal action. [1]

One of the interesting applications of this scheme of general categories is Mitchell's situational study of the language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica where he seeks the 'meaning' of the texts he recorded in their actual use. [2] Consequently he classifies his material systematically in accordance with correlations between the texts and their environments. [3] He chooses a limited number of situations and investigates the relationship between these situations and the utterances used for conducting the various transactions in buying and selling in terms of personalities involved (e.g. buyer, seller, auctioneer, owner of merchandise..etc.), relevent objects (e.g. commodities, locale of sale..etc.) and verbal or non-verbal activities of the participants. Categories of transactions are then classified into :

a — market transactions exclusive of auctioning ;

b — market auctions ;

c — shop transactions. [4]

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1) Firth, J.R., 'Personality and Language in Society', in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951,* op. cit., p. 182.

2) Mitchell, T. F., 'The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica : a Situational Statement', in *Hespéris,* Tome XLIV, Paris, 1957, pp. 31-71.

3) Ibid., p. 32. 4) Ibid., p. 41.

The different stages of these situations are described in some detail and linguistic differences between the stages are investigated in terms of collocations and extended collocations[1] correlated with each stage, since, according to Mitchell, "It is often difficult to separate the situational and collocational levels of statement, for the situation 'determines' in large measure collocation in any given text."[2]

Although the concept of language functions has not been much developed in linguistics, yet Firth suggested the study of 'types of language function' as a framework to be usefully employed in linguistic analysis. He maintains that, like contexts of situation, language functions are of abstract nature. He cites the language of agreement, encouragement, endorsement, disagreement, condemnation, wishing, blessing, cursing, boasting, challenge and appeal, social flattery, love-making, praise and blame, propaganda and persuation as instances of such types, and then advocates the necessity of grouping and classifying such types[3]. We may add that the two concepts, i.e. 'context of situation' and 'language function' are

1) For the term collocation, see 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930 - 55', op. cit., pp. 179 - 81. See also Mitchell, T.F., 'Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis', in *Transactions of the Philological Society,* 1958, pp. 108 ff.

2) 'The Language of Buying and Selling', op. cit., p. 53.

3) Firth, J.R., 'The Technique of Semantics', in *Papers in Linguistics,* op. cit., p. 31. Firth uses the terms 'types of speech function', 'types of linguistic function' and 'types of language function' as synonymous terms. See ibid., pp. 27, 28 and 31 ; see also 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory', op. cit., p. 178.

complementary, since the concept of language functions may be applied as a schematic framework to language events which occur in a given context of situation whether we interpret 'context' in its widest sense as 'what is specific to a given culture and its language' or in its narrowest sense as 'what distinguishes one situation and its utterances from another.' [1] This was in fact Malinowski's linguistic approach to the problem of meaning. In Firth's words, Malinowski's 'outstanding contribution to linguistics was his approach in terms of his general theory of speech functions in contexts of situation, to the problem of meaning...' [2]

Speech functions are, however, distinguished by the fact that :

a — they are determined by a given society.

b — they are highly repetitive in the everyday life of a community.

c — they serve to characterize the role relations obtaining between individuals. For instance, the following utterances operating in the function of 'courtesy' in Egyptian Arabic relate to a situation in which a superior is demanding

1) Ellis, J., 'On Contextual Meaning', in *In Memory of J.R. Firth*, Longmans, London, 1966, p. 82. See also Dixon, R., 'On Formal and Contextual Meaning', in *Acta Linguistica*, 1964, p. 44.

2) Firth, J.R., 'Ethnographic Analysis and Language with Reference to Malinowski's Views', in *Man and Culture*, edited by Firth, R.W., London, 1957, p. 118.

something from an inferior, say, a senior (government) official is asking a (government) clerk to give him his daughter in marriage. The clerk considers such offer as an 'honour'. He expresses his approval and, simultaneously, his recognition of his inferior status by saying:

1 — huwwa-ḥna-f di:k-issa:ʕa
(It's a great honour to us. Lit. Have we reached that hour ?)

2 — huwwa-ḥna ʔadd-ilmaʔa:m (We are inferior to you in status. Lit. Do we aspire to the same status ?)

3 — hiyya-lʕe:n tiʕla ʕa-lḥa:gib (It's a great honour to us. Lit. Is the eye superior to the eyebrow?)

d — they express the traditions, habits, values, manners, beliefs, customs, mentality and attitude to life of a given community. The above examples, for instance, reflect : (i) relics of a sharply stratified society and (ii) the importance our society still attaches to social status.

However, in our attempt to classify types of linguistic function in a certain language, we usually start from contextual data, i.e. from multifarious instances that have 'the implication of utterance' in specific situations and that can be referred to typical participants in the community [1]. Instances can then be grouped on the basis

1) Cf. Firth, "..all texts in modern spoken languages should be regarded as having 'the implication of utterance', and be referred to typical participants in some generalized context of situation." See 'General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar', in *Papers in Linguistics,* op. cit., p. 226.

of their operation in certain functions which are predetermined by the context of culture relating to this language. Each function will be considered as an abstraction from these various instances. For example, irritability, reproach, protest, abuse, threat, challenge, command, request, seeking advice, approval, mockery, scorn ... etc. are functional categories that can be abstracted from the various instances correlated with their use in, say, the Egyptian cultural context. Still, we agree with Professor Pride that " Labels such as 'command' 'request', etc., are of course by no means easy to define. What might be a 'command' for the speaker or writer might... have the force of a 'request' or mere piece of 'advice' for the listener or reader. Moreover, for any one person what a 'command' is will depend on what a 'request' is, and a 'suggestion', etc. " [1] We must admit that there is overlapping among these functional categories, since language events function in 'a continuum of social experience' [2], but if we start with the assumption that each functional category constitutes by itself what Firth calls a 'restricted language' [3] different from

1) Pride, J.B., *The Social Meaning of Language*, Oxford University Press, London, 1971, p. 52.

2) Firth, J.R., *The Tongues of Men and Speech*, Oxford University Press, London, 1964, p. 175.

3) Cf. Robins, '...within the speech of any single member of a linguistic community different social situations demand different types of language. These different styles, or as Firth called them 'restricted languages' have indeterminate borders and shade into one another, but are each proper objects of study and analysis..." See Robins, R.H., 'General Linguistics in Great Britain 1930-1960', in Mohrmann, C. et al. (eds.), *Trends in Modern Linguistics*, Utrecht, 1963, p. 17.

the other categories we shall expect to sort out the distinctive lexical, grammatical and phonological patterns recurrent within each restricted language, and to relate these patterns to relevant extra-linguistic features. Sometimes it is even possible to establish a relationship between a given language function and certain formal markers. For example, the structure of the following Egyptian Arabic utterances operative in the function of 'Resignation' :

> ʔaʕmil-eeh (What can I do ?)
>
> ʔaru:ḥ feen (I'm really at a loss. Lit. Where shall I go ?)
>
> ʔaru:ḥ li mi:n (I'm completely flummoxed. Lit. To whom shall I go ?)

is characterized by the presence of an imperfect verb in its 1st person singular form followed by an interrogative particle in final position.

Besides, 'it should not be assumed that the only kind of overt marker is the formally linguistic. There are all manner of overt 'para-linguistic' and non-linguistic markers to consider, and here as always one can only be guided in the last resort by intuitive feeling for what is meaningful, and what is not meaningful."[1] For instance, in Egyptian Arabic we observe para-linguistic features correlating with the functional category of 'Surprise'.

1) Pride, J.B., *The Social Meaning of Language*, op. cit., p. 53.

These surprise markers may be subdivided for convenience into three categories :

a — vocal expressions

b — facial expressions

c — gesture [1]

Some of these are peculiar to women only while the others are used by both men and women as shown by the following table :

Speaker	Vocal Expression	Facial Expression	Gesture
Man or Woman	ya:h ˀihhi:(h) ˀehhe:(h) ˀih, ˀi:h	1. raising the brows 2. slight or wide opening of the mouth	
Woman	yoh ˀaḥḥe:(h)		tapping the breast with the palm of the right hand either gently or with force according to the degree of surprise expressed.

1) This classification of 'non-verbal' elements is suggested by Abercrombie, but he uses the term 'interjections' for what I call here =

Bilingualism is another domain of sociolinguistics. It may be defined as the possession or the habitual use of two languages. Variable factors are involved in the process of bilingualism. Age of learning, place or places where the individual uses the language(s), and the extent of the bilingual's mastery of the language(s) are among these factors. There are also various types of bilingualism, e.g. home bilingualism 'where different members of the same family make use of different languages,' home-school or home-work bilingualism in accordance with the place where different languages are used [1]. In addition, there are individual bilingualism and nation bilingualism. The latter is often concerned with two different cultures, although there may be a basis of common culture among the bilinguals in the same country : " the shared culture between two language-groups... will be reflected to some extent in their linguistic usage ; the two languages will draw nearer to each other. " [2]

= 'vocal expressions'. Another alternative term which may be conveniently adopted is 'vocal segregates' which is suggested by Trager, after Bateson. See Abercrombie, D., *Problems and Principles in Language Study*, Longmans, London, 1968, pp. 70-83. See also Trager, G.L., 'Paralanguage : A First Approximation', in Hymes, D., *Language in Culture and Society, a Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, op. cit., pp. 276-79.

1) See Christophersen, P., *Second-Language Learning, Myth and Reality*, Penguin Education Series, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1973, pp. 62-63. Christophersen maintains that most observations regarding bilingualism are also true of multilingualism (the possession of several languages) ; see ibid., pp. 62-63.

2) Ibid., p. 65.

There are also situations in which two varieties of a language are used within a given community. Each variety fulfils a specific role. This kind of bilingualism is termed 'diglossia' by Ferguson.[1] He gives the linguistic situation in Egypt as an illustrative example. Classical Arabic is used side by side with colloquial dialect, but each has a definite role to play. Possible situations where the Classical variety is used are :

mosque or church sermons; personal letters; speeches in the National Assembly ; university lectures ; news broadcast ; and poetry.

On the other hand, situations where the Egyptian dialect may be used include the following :

instructions to servants, waiters, workmen and clerks; conversation with family, friends and colleagues; captions on political cartoon ; and folk literature. [2]

But we may also add that there are situations in which an admixture of both varieties is used, e.g. in political speeches, especially when unprepared beforehand (for example, some speeches of the late President Nasser) and in conversation among educated friends, acquaintances and colleagues.

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1) See Ferguson, C.A., 'Diglossia', in Hymes, D., *Language in Culture and Society, a Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, op. cit., pp. 429-37.

2) Ibid., pp. 430 ff.

Besides, hosts of borrowings from Classical Arabic are used even in the rural varieties of the dialect. Certain proverbs, politeness formulas and the like are in Classical Arabic 'even when cited in ordinary conversation by illiterates.' [1] The following examples are commonly used :

1. ˀaljannatu taḥta ˀɑqda:m-ilˀummaha:t
   (We have to treat our mothers obediently and kindly. Lit. Paradise (lies) under the feet of mothers.)

2. ˀarriga:lu qɑwwa:mu:na ʕala-nnisa:ˀ
   (Men must have authority over women. Lit. Men are the guardians of women.)

3. ˀannisa:ˀu nɑ:qiṣɑ:tu ʕɑqlin wa di:n
   (Women are deficient in both wisdom and religion.)

Notice also the ritualized exchanges of some Classical phrases on various occasions like :

1. after ablution for prayer :

   Speaker : min zamzam (i.e. May you enjoy washing from the sacred well of Zamzam (at Mecca).)

   Addressee : gamʕan ˀinʃa:ˀa-llɑ:h (Lit. May we go together, if God will.)

1) Ibid., p. 432.

2. during treatment of a sick person (e.g. an injection):

S. bi-ʃʃifa (-nʃa:ʔa-llɑ:h) (May God grant you a quick recovery.)

A. ʃafa:kumu-llɑ:hu wa ʕa:fa:kum (May God grant you health and vigour.)

3. to a person joining a funeral procession or offering his condolences :

S. ʃɑkara-llɑ:hu saʕyak (May God reward you for your trouble.)

A. ʕɑZZɑma-llɑ:hu ʔɑgrɑk (Lit. May God grant you a greater reward.)

It may be noted that with the spread of education, with the influence of mass media which adopt a spoken literary language, and with the wider intercommunication among the various regions there has arisen what we may term cultured or educated spoken Arabic. This is called by Ferguson 'intermediate forms of the language' [1] or ʔalluɣa-lwuṣṭɑ. This kind of spoken Arabic is used in 'certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations.' [2]

The linguistic situation in the present Arab world favours the growth and spread of one standard spoken Arabic. Ferguson's tentative prognosis for Arabic in

1) Ibid., p. 433.
2) Ibid., p. 433.

the next two centuries is argued. He foresees 'slow developments toward several standard languages', each based on an Arabic regional dialect with 'heavy admixture' of classical vocabulary, such as Maghrebi, Egyptian, Syrian and Sudanese.[1] On the contrary, the present political, economic and cultural rapprochement among the Arab States encourages the tendency towards one integrated standard spoken Arabic. Features of this variety should be investigated, and attempts are now made in this direction .[2]

For a language to attain the status of a standard language, it has to fulfil certain requirements. First, its linguistic structure, i.e. phonology, grammar and lexis, should be adequately developed. In other words, its form should exhibit both elaboration and stability. This does not eliminate any possible flexibility on the part of the language in response to probable cultural changes in the community. Secondly, a standard language should also have the ability to be utilized, whether in its spoken or written aspect, for the multifarious functions which a given society needs for effective communication among its members. In Haugen's words, "it must answer to the needs of a variety of communities, classes, occupations,

1) Ibid., p. 437.

2) See Ezzat, A., *Intelligibility Among Arabic Dialects*, Beirut Arab University Publications, Beirut, 1974. A survey of standard spoken Arabic is at present conducted in the University of Leeds under the supervision of Professor T.F. Mitchell.

and interest groups. It must meet the basic test of *adequacy.*" [1] Further, a standard language must have users who accept it as their 'norm', since "*Acceptance* of the norm, even by a small but influential group, is part of the life of the language." [2] Standard languages that act as factors of unification, diversification or prestige among their users are sometimes called national languages:

> "National languages have offered membership in the nation, an identity that gives one entrée into a new kind of group, which is not just kinship, or government, or religion, but a novel and peculiarly modern brew of all three." [3]

This unity, however, is unaffected by the diversity of what may be called the different styles of the language, i.e. formal, informal, colloquial, or by its various class or occupational jargons "so long as they are clearly diversified in function and show a reasonable degree of solidarity with one another." [4]

Each language has certain varieties which may differ at one or more levels from each other. These varieties are called 'dialects'. The speaker's region of origin is the determinant factor in his choice of the dialectal variety he uses. Regional dialects are usually classified into major dialect areas, although there may be differences within

1) Haugen, E., 'Dialect, Language, Nation', in Pride, J. and Holms, J. (eds.), *Sociolinguistics, Selected Readings*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972, p. 108.
2) Ibid., p. 109. 3) Ibid., p. 110. 4) Ibid., p. 109.

the one and the same area. For example, although there are considerable divergencies from one area to another in Egypt, yet Egyptian Arabic may be classified into three major dialects :

1. The Lower Egyptian dialect : This variety is used in the area extending in the Delta north of Cairo. It may be noticed here that there are differences between the cultivated urban variety of the dialect spoken in the urban centres like Cairo, Tanta, Zagazig, Port Said and Alexandria — especially among the educated, on the one hand, and the rural variety, on the other.

2. The Upper Egyptian dialect 'ṣaʕi:di' : This is the dialect spoken in the area stretching along the Nile Valley south of Cairo to Aswan.

3. The Beduin dialect spoken in the province of Sharkiyya east of the Delta, the semi-desert area west of Alexandria, and the oases area west of the Nile Valley.

The learning of a foreign language may also give rise to the phenomenon of 'accent'. This involves the transference of 'patterns from our native language on to the language we are learning. These may be patterns at any level." [1] The same is true with a person who

1) Halliday, M. et al., *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*, Longmans, London, 1966, p. 84.

learns a different variety from the one he speaks, say the standard language of the community. He usually speaks it with an accent, i.e. 'with phonetic features of his native dialect' [1] and he may continue to use the two dialects according to situation. It is a normal linguistic practice in Egypt to see a ṣaʕi:di (i.e. an upper Egyptian) who is resident in Cairo speaking the Cairene variety with his friends and colleagues at work, but code-switching to the ṣaʕi:di variety when addressing the members of his family or his wife's family who come to the capital to visit him, since ṣaʕi:dis have definite notions on the use of their own dialect and have their 'reservations' on the use of the Cairene variety.

The selection of certain linguistic forms is often correlated with the role relationship between speaker and addressee. There are considerations which govern this relationship such as degree of intimacy, status or rank, age, and sex. Such variables cannot be ignored in the study of linguistic variants. Fischer has shown that the choice between the verb endings -ing and -in among a 24 children group of equal number of boys and girls in New England, U.S.A., seems to be related to sex, class, personality (aggressive/cooperative) and mood (tense/relaxed) of the speaker, to the formality of the conversation, and to the specific verb spoken.[2] Haas has also

1) Ibid., p. 85.
2) Fischer, J., 'Social Influences on the Choice of a Linguistic Variant', in Hymes, D., *Language in Culture and Society*, op. cit., pp. 483 - 88.

attracted attention to the difference in pronouns adopted in Koasati depending on the relative rank and the degree of intimacy between speaker and hearer.[1]

Variants used in referring to or addressing another person are called terms of reference and address. For example, it is customary among Egyptians to employ appropriate terms when addressing their superiors, relatives, elderly acquaintances of the family, friends.. etc. in the various daily situations in which they are involved. These terms may be classified into five categories, in accordance with the situational contexts with which they are correlated :

I — Superiority-Inferiority

These may be divided into three sub-categories, according to speaker-addressee relationship :

i. inferior to superior :

This category includes terms like :

siyadtak, saƹadtak and ḥaḍritak (sir)

ii. superior to inferior :

The members of this category are :

bint/bitt (girl) and walad/wa:d (boy)

These are the terms commonly used by masters when addressing their servants.

1) Haas, M., 'Men's and Women's Speech in Koasati', in Hymes, D., *Language in Culture and Society,* op. cit., pp. 228 - 32.

iii. between equals :

This category comprises terms like :

ʔusta:z (Mr.), si (Mr.), ʔa:nisa (Miss), sitt (Miss/Mrs.), mada:m (Madam/Mrs.) ha:nim (Madam), be:h (Bey), ʔafandi (Effendi).

This category may also include nicknames and playful terms of address like

Nicknames :	ʔabu ʕali	(used for ḥasan (Hassan))
	ʔabu xali:l	(» » ʔibrɑhi:m (Ibrahim))
	ʔabu ʕaffa:n	(» » ʕuṣmɑ:n (Osman))

Playful terms :	ʕubad	(used for ʕɑbdɑllɑ (Abdalla))
	ʕibs	(» » ʕabba:s (Abbas))
	sumʕa	(» » ʔismaʕi:l (Ismail))
	zu:ba	(» » ze:nab (Zeinab))
	ʃu:ʃu	(» » ʕe:ʃa (Aisha))

The use of nicknames and playful terms indicates a degree more intimate than the use of terms like ʔusta:z, ʔa:nisa .. etc.

2. Kinship

This category comprises such terms as :

bɑ:bɑ (Dɑd(dy)), mɑ:mɑ (Mum(my)), ʕamm (paternal uncle), xa:l (maternal uncle) ʕamma (paternal aunt), xa:la (maternal aunt) .. etc.

3 — Terms of Respect (addressed to relatives and non-relatives)

This category includes the following terms :

i. ʔabe:(h) / ʔabe:(h) (big / elder brother). This is the term used by a young boy/girl when addressing his/her elder male relative, e.g. a brother, or an elder male acquaintance.

ii. ʔunkil/ʔankil (uncle). This term is addressed by a young boy/girl to his/her paternal uncle, maternal uncle or an elder male acquaintance.

iii. ṭanṭ (aunt). This is used by a boy or a girl when addressing his/her paternal aunt, maternal aunt or an elder female acquaintance.

iv. ʔabla (big/elder sister). This is used by a male or a female to his/her elder sister or elder female acquaintance.

4 — Terms of Intimacy and Friendship

Terms used in this context are :

ʔaxx (Lit. brother) used to males, and ʔuxt (Lit. sister) to females. The use of either of these terms does not necessarily involve any consanguinity between speaker and addressee.

5 — Terms of Affection and Endearment

Terms included in this category are usually addressed to children (relatives or non-relatives) by adults e.g.

ḥabi:bi (dear, Lit. love or beloved) addressed to a male.

ḥabibti (dear, Lit. love or beloved) addressed to a female.

ro:ḥi (Lit. my soul) addressed to a male or a female.

ḥilwa (sweet), ʔammu:rɑ (i.e. as pretty as the moon). Both these terms are addressed to females only.

In conclusion, though the above notes on sociolinguistics are not comprehensive, yet they throw light on some of the major areas of this rapidly growing field which "studies the varied linguistic realizations of socio-cultural meanings which in a sense are both familiar and unfamiliar - the currency of everyday social interactions which are nevertheless relative to particular cultures, societies, social groups, speech communities, languages, dialects, varieties, styles."[1] In this light language will be really treated as "a form of human living, rather than merely a set of arbitrary signs and signals."[2]

1) Pride, J. B., 'Sociolinguistics', in Lyons, J. (ed.), *New Horizons in Linguistics*, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972, p. 301.

2) Firth, J. R., 'The Treatment of Language in General Linguistics', in Palmer, F. R. (ed.), *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1952-59*, op. cit., p. 206.

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